

# THE UGARAPUL TRIBE OF THE FASSIFERN VALLEY

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Back in the mists of time, centuries before white explorers first hacked routes west, north and south of the young Moreton Bay penal settlement, a resident tribe (or clan) of Aborigines inhabited the fertile region we know as the Fassifern Valley. Nomadic like their neighbouring cousins, they were a distinct social unit "owning their homeland and governing themselves".<sup>1</sup> They were the Ugarapuls or Yuggera people inhabiting the region roughly from Ipswich to Maroon and westward to the Dividing Range.<sup>2</sup> In the region drained by Warrill Creek, Reynolds Creek and Teviot Brook, they lived, hunted and fished until the coming of the white man.

Adjoining them to the south-east were the Yugumbir people of the Upper Albert and Logan River valleys who included the Munungalis (or Beaudesert tribe), the Migunburris (or Christmas Creek tribe), the Gugingins (or Logan tribe) and the Wangerriburras (or Albert tribe). The boundary between the Yuggera and the Yugumbir people is a matter of conjecture. Thomas W. Hardcastle, grandson of a Dugandan pioneer and author of a valuable dictionary of local dialects, was adamant that Maroon and Upper Logan Aborigines spoke Yugumbir, a dialect distinctly different from Ugarapul.<sup>3</sup> He places the border near Maroon, rather than at the Logan River, basing his conclusion on first-hand studies in the field. His theory is, moreover, strongly reinforced by the work of the remarkable Aboriginal scholar, John Allen, born into the Wangerriburra or Albert tribe in the 1850s who became fluent in English. Allen, whose Aboriginal name was Bullumm, was substantially responsible for an important appendix to the Queensland Government Report on Aborigines for 1913, including the map designating Wangerriburra territory.<sup>4</sup> He located the haunts of the Munungalis in the region between Allan Creek and Knapp's Creek but presumably centred on Beaudesert.

Archibald Meston identified seven distinct dialects amongst Moreton Bay tribes, all virtually extinct by 1923.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, F.J. Watson recognized only "four distinct lingual divisions" — the Kabi tribe (of the Mary and Burrum Rivers plus Bribie Island), the Wakka tribe (of the Upper Burnett), the Yugarbul tribe (of the Brisbane and Caboolture Rivers) and the Yugumbir tribe (of the Logan and Albert Rivers).<sup>6</sup> What is clear is that while each clan was

separate and distinct, with its own defined territorial limits, there was considerable intercourse between neighbouring clans.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, there is evidence from the 1840s of regular mass movements of Aborigines from as far south as the Richmond and Tweed Rivers, across the Macpherson Range through a number of scrub tunnels, and from the headwaters and valleys of the Nerang, Albert and Logan Rivers, through Yugumbir-Yuggera territory north to the Bunya Mountains, for the triennial feast. The Dugandan and Fassifern scrubs — mostly impenetrable to Europeans until opened for selections — concealed a centuries-old track known to the indigenous people who journeyed through it. After visiting the Fassifern, the young German scientist, Dr Ludwig Leichhardt, wrote in August 1843 that the Aborigines had told him “that the trees bear a heavy crop once in three years, which draws the clans from near and far.” For three months, every third year, Aborigines assembled “to feast on the nourishing bunya kernels”.<sup>8</sup> Clearly an overlap in common vocabulary and common pronunciation was bound to evolve from regular social intercourse amongst neighbours, and even distant acquaintances.

Hardcastle, whose meticulous studies of the Ugarapul dialect of the Teviot valley began at Dugandan in 1900, explained the language links between the Boonah-Dugandan Blacks and the more distant tribes of the lower Brisbane and Caboolture Rivers as a “case of overlapping the boundaries of the Brisbane River basin.”<sup>9</sup> While geographically closer to the Maroon and Upper Logan tribes who spoke Yugumbir, socially they had more contact with the Brisbane Valley Aborigines. In a foreword to Hardcastle’s dictionary of the Ugarapul spoken in the Boonah district, his wife sketched a portrait of the meticulous philologist at work:

It was not uncommon in the past, when blacks were numerous in the Dugandan district, to come across people who could converse with the aborigine in his own language, but my husband was one of the few who kept a record of the words collected from the Yugarapul, who were camped around the old Hardcastle home at Dugandan. . . . Between 1900 and 1904 he systematically interrogated the men and women of the remnant of the tribe, passing from one to the other to check up on each word before writing it down. At this time there were remnants of several tribes living in the district, but he only studied the dialect of the Yugarapul.<sup>10</sup>

In 1905, armed with Tom Petrie’s newly-published *Reminiscences*, Hardcastle sought explanations for variations in pronunciation, eliciting from local Ugarapuls the explanation that “Petrie, him salt-water fella”.<sup>11</sup> Despite the constraints of travel over rugged terrain on foot, the Aborigines moved great distances. A.W. Compigne, a pastoralist on the Albert, averred in 1861 that often as many as 300 Blacks from as far afield as the coast and the Richmond River,

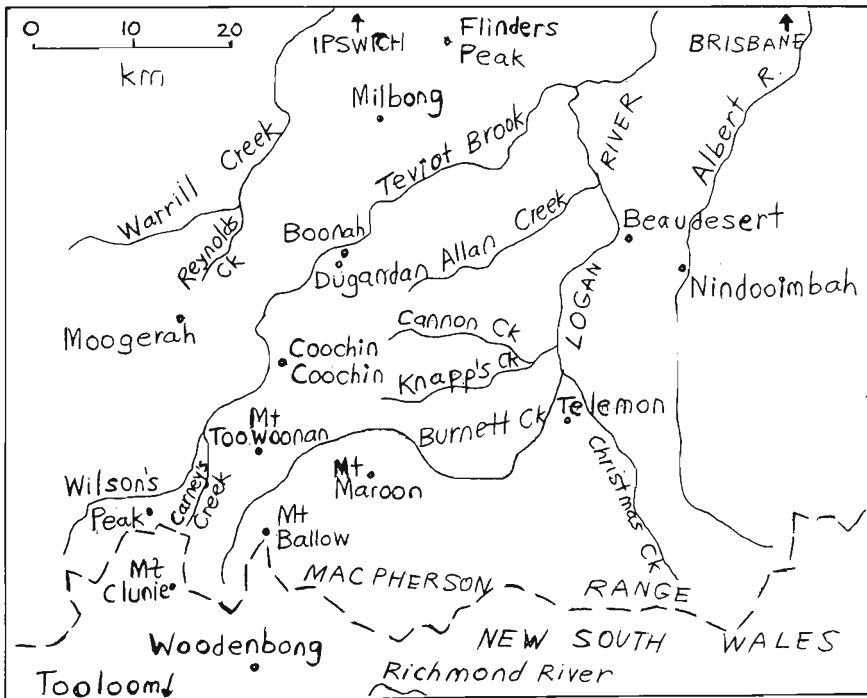
gathered on Nindooimbah, either in transit, or simply on a social visit, a boree.<sup>12</sup>

Our comprehension of the ancient Aborigine ritual of corroboree as practised in the Boonah region is substantially dependent on European interpretation and observation. Its fundamental significance to Aborigines is certain but suspicions linger as to the authenticity of performances observed by outsiders. Miss Enid Bell, granddaughter of Mrs G.A. Bell, the grand old lady of Coochin Coochin, captured the essence of the ancient ritual in her tribute to Bunjoey or Susan, daughter of Moolpajo, King of the Yugarapul tribe:

Susan knew her race before the white civilisation had swept away its customs and traditions. Though she must be 80 years old or more, the fire of life still burns brightly in her slight, graceful form. As she chants the old songs of her tribe and sways rhythmically, one hears the echoes of the thundering feet of the dancers stamping in rhythm, celebrating the great corroboree festivals not the corroborees of modern days, regarded in the light of vaudeville entertainments, but the great sacred festivals which expressed the primitive soul of the aboriginal people.<sup>13</sup>

Preparations for a corroboree, held on Thomas Hardcastle's selection at Dugandan on the Teviot about 1890, were observed by his grandson and recalled half a century later:

I watched them chop short sticks, about 18 inches long, in the brigalow scrub. These were used by gins and picaninnies in the drive



for wallabies and other game, to provide food for the large gathering of aborigines attending the corroboree. The usual procedure was for the aborigines to form a half-circle in the scrub and drive all game ahead. The men had spears and nullas. They left the picking up to gins, picaninnies, and old men. Any game missed by the men were killed by the gins, who were experts at throwing these short sticks. I have a vivid memory of the heaps of wallabies, paddymelons, possums, native bears, etc., being prepared for cooking. For days before the corroboree aborigines were coming from all directions. The men painted themselves in preparation for the night corroboree. Although too young to remember details, what impressed me was the huge log fires that the young boys kept going on the outside of the circle. The gins squatted down with some kind of hide across their thighs. They beat on these skins like a drum, while the old men kept time by hitting two boomerangs together. The dancers and actors kept in the centre of the circle. in the firelight amid the trees they looked splendid. The corroboree went on for three nights. The noise they made was terrible, but my grandparents never interfered with them. In the daytime they slept or feasted.<sup>14</sup>

The last known corroboree in the district was held in September 1905 at Maroon, on Cannon Creek Lane. Mr Eric Ferrar of Anthonyvale recalls that his mother, a girl of eleven, attended, along with all the white settlers of Maroon, and took along their contributions in the form of food. Aborigines journeyed huge distances to this corroboree, from as far as Wide Bay in the north and some from a camp near Woodenbong, across the border. "They were about six weeks building their gunyahs and camp fires and preparing their tucker ready for the 'big night' . . . Their clay for the warpaint was collected from the hills. On the great night a huge bonfire was lit and the traditional dances such as *The Hunt* and the *Dying Kangaroo* were enacted."<sup>15</sup>

By this time, through encroachments on tribal lands, and the gradual decimation and dispersal of the Aborigines, even the much-used camps in a paddock behind the present Maroon School, and on Anders' Flat, were eventually forsaken. According to the earliest white settlers at Maroon, Blacks were numerous in the seventies and eighties, the local tribe waging a fierce battle against a hostile southern tribe on Anders' Flat, just north of Maroon.

Interaction with Aborigines can be traced back to 1827 when Captain Logan sought refuge in an Aboriginal hut after climbing Mount Toowoona. The native encampment in which he sheltered from the rain was probably on the banks of Burnett Creek, near present-day Maroon.<sup>16</sup>

Centuries-old migration routes across the Macpherson Ranges revealed themselves to explorers, cedar hunters and gold prospectors.

The Aboriginal track across the range between Mount Ballow and Mount Clunie was known in the late 1850s as the "Digger's Track".

It was part of the route from Ipswich to the Tooloom diggings via Balbi's Inn, Moogerah Station and Carney's Creek.<sup>17</sup> Peter MacGregor, Under-Overseer at Moogerah station, saw an old, white-haired Aboriginal camped beside the road at Moogerah. Within months the old man was gunned down by the Native Police.<sup>18</sup>

Relics of Aboriginal occupation abound in the Fassifern Valley, not only in artifacts such as stone axes and grinding stones, but also in burial sites, bora rings and place names. Thus in Hardcastle's vocabulary we have Milbong (One-eye Waterhole), Bunjuren (a gin of the class banjur), Kulgun (track across the Teviot Range), Moogerah (Mount Greville, place of thunder), Recumpilla (Mount Alford), Coochin Coochin (red ridge near Wallace's Creek), Dugandan, and Boonah (bloodwood tree).

Ploughing at Anders' Flat has revealed many stone axes, some discarded because of flaws, and many composed of a foreign bluish-grey rock not found locally but common amongst tribes hundreds of miles from Maroon. Burial grounds have been discovered in rock caves on Mount Ballow, the corpses left in a standing position, and on Mount Edwards in an inaccessible cave about 45 metres from the summit.<sup>19</sup> Bora grounds have been identified at a number of locations, including one on Woolooman Road two kilometres from its junction with the Ipswich-Boonah Road, and another on Wilson's Run near the old homestead at Flinders' Peak.<sup>20</sup>

There is hearsay evidence that the Ugarapuls communicated with neighbouring clans by way of smoke signals. Dr J.G. Steele states there was smoke-signal communication with the Killarney clan through a station on Mount Roberts (or Bunkoo), other clans mounting stations on Spicer's Peak (Binkingoorah, or turtle with head sticking out), and Wilson's Peak (Jirraman or man's knee). Thomas Hall identifies Mount Hunter as the principal signal station of the Blucher tribe on the Downs and Wilson's Peak as the signal station for the Richmond tribe.<sup>21</sup>

The opening of the Moreton Bay District to unrestricted free settlement in 1842 brought immediate changes to the centuries-old habits of the Ugarapuls. At the end of that year the Rev. J.C.S. Handt reported that the "wild habits of the Aborigines are the same as they were in former years" although they had not been "so troublesome to the settlers of this District as they were before."<sup>22</sup> He estimated the Black population within a fifty mile radius of Brisbane as 1000 to 1500, each tribe varying from eight to 150. One year later Stephen Simpson, Commissioner for Crown Lands, estimated the total population of the Moreton Bay district as five thousand.<sup>23</sup> Simpson had already journeyed a considerable distance through the Moreton Bay District. Although not referring specifically to the Ugarapul, he commented that the Aborigines "frequent the Stations situated on

their hunting grounds, and, if treated with kindness and circumspection render some little service in cutting timber, drawing water, and occasionally acting as Shepherds.” He observed with perspicacity:

Everything, however, depends upon the judicious management of the proprietor or Superintendent of the Station in preventing any improper intercourse between their Gins and his Men, and taking care that they are fairly and honestly dealt with for any little services they may render.<sup>24</sup>

Simpson’s policy was based on observation and on his own experience at Woogaroo where he had “rarely less than five or six . . . either assisting the Police in the Bush or labouring in the Garden.” The white population of the Fassifern Valley in February 1844 numbered fewer than thirty.<sup>25</sup> Simpson was convinced that the establishment of harmonious relations with local Aborigines by respective Head Stations was the means to curbing the aggression of hostile tribes. He cited the Archer brothers of Durundur Station where Aborigines were allowed free intercourse with the Head Station and “their peccadilloes” treated with forbearance. In turn, the local Aborigines prevented “strange blacks from committing aggressions”, the only losses being occasional bullocks speared by foreign Blacks crossing the runs.<sup>26</sup>

At Lockyer’s Creek on the road to the Darling Downs, about 15 miles from Ipswich in the vicinity of the Rosewood Scrub, the Blacks had in recent months been “particularly troublesome”. Simpson reported that they had deliberately stampeded the cattle of Wingate and Bell into swampy ground before “hamstringing” them. The response was the immediate establishment of a military post at the foot of the range. Notwithstanding these sporadic outbreaks of violence, Simpson reiterated his conviction that:

the Aborigines of the District are naturally a humane, good-natured Race, rarely taking life from bloodthirsty motives; indeed in their conflicts amongst themselves they do all they can to avoid it, never cutting, if they can help it, any vital part; their conduct to Runaways or persons lost in the bush has been almost uniformly kind; and, considering the exposed nature of a Shepherd’s occupation and the occasional pressing wants of the Aborigines, it is really surprising that so few fall a sacrifice. In fact, I feel satisfied that by cultivating a good understanding at the head Station with the Aborigines belonging to the Run and strictly forbidding any intercourse between them and the Out-Stations, where they are often ill-treated, both life and property would be better secured.<sup>27</sup>

Simpson’s next annual report, dated 31 December 1845, was in marked contrast to the previous two. He described the Blacks of

Moreton Bay, who “cannot be under 4000, of which about a quarter are fighting men”, without his previous optimism:

They are no longer at open war with the Squatters, rushing Herds of Cattle and carrying off whole flocks of Sheep, but have adopted a system of pilfering that no foresight can prevent. Everywhere indeed they adopt the same plan, visiting the Stations in small mobs under the guise of friends. They allow no opportunity to escape of pilfering the huts or destroying any stray Cattle they may meet with on their way. In several instances they have killed milking Cows close up to the Huts, without as much as being suspected, till the Bones of the victims happen to be accidentally met with some days after; in one or two instances they have even buried the Bones, a refinement in their operations which induces me to suspect that they have been put up to it by one or two White Men, said to be living with them.<sup>28</sup>

Collision with the Aborigines, uprooted from tribal lands and obstructed in tribal ways by the increasing numbers of Europeans, already appeared inevitable. By December 1846, Simpson commented that the practice of single hut keepers and inadequately protected head stations was fraught with peril. He advised Sir Charles Fitzroy that “whenever there is an accumulation of Stores, there is no security from an attack of the Aborigines, but in the presence of a sufficient number of men to overawe them”.<sup>29</sup>

It was, Simpson observed, the “more civilized Blacks in the vicinity of Brisbane and Ipswich” who manifested a greater propensity for marauding and theft than “their wilder brothers in the more remote parts of the District”. This view was endorsed 15 years later by Francis Henry Farrington, a contract carpenter employed by Hardie and Wienholt on Fassifern Station. After seven years travel “up the country” he gave evidence in 1861 that he had never been molested by the Blacks but found them “much more refractory in the towns than in the bush”.<sup>30</sup>

Simpson’s despondency was short-lived. By 31 December 1847 he reported that apart from two or three incidents on the coast, “the squatters have nowhere been molested”.<sup>31</sup> At all the stations he had visited, the Aborigines had been received “upon a friendly footing”. He interpreted the absence of friction as evidence that the Aborigines were learning that “occupation of their Wilds by the White Man, so far from curtailing their means of existence, has rather augmented them”. Simpson told Fitzroy of the employment of Aborigines as shepherds, “the only drawback . . . the difficulty of retaining them long in the same occupation”. This difficulty may have originated in the Aboriginal wages and conditions policy at the time as Alexander Balbi certainly had little difficulty retaining the services of his Aboriginal groom, “Shepherd Tommy”, at the Bush Inn in 1860.<sup>32</sup>

On 10 January 1849, Simpson admitted the failure of his earlier optimism in his report on 10 January 1849, his final words a rebuke that was to dog Aboriginal policy for much of the next century:

Finally from an eight-years experience of the character and habits of the Aborigines, I must pronounce them a lazy, good-natured people, who with probably even the best management will never succeed in growing sufficient food for their own consumption — still they have never been placed in a position to make the experiment.<sup>33</sup>

A.W. Compigne's evidence to the 1861 Select Committee on the Native Police Force reinforced the widely-held view that trouble between Whites and Blacks originated when the local tribe was swelled by dissidents from farther afield. Unable to identify the Aborigines responsible for losses ranging from 400 to 1500 sheep every year, Compigne was adamant that trouble arose only "during those periods when they collect together". At other times, the resident Blacks on his run at Nindooimba on the Albert River were "rarely troublesome".<sup>34</sup> The same pattern seems to have existed in the Fassifern Valley, the peaceful coexistence guaranteed by superior weaponry and the threat of immediate reprisal in the event of trouble.

The year 1860 was of critical importance in Ugarapul history. In response to appeals from certain squatters, Lieutenant Wheeler tracked with unremitting zeal a group of Telemon Blacks suspected of outrages against white settlers. He went first to Compigne's run, found no Blacks, and then went to the coast and followed it down to Point Danger, but found no tracks. He then returned to Telemon and, in his words:

followed up Christmas Creek till I came underneath McPherson's Range and Mount Lindsay. I found the tracks underneath the Ranges there, heading towards the large Dugandan scrub, between the Ten-mile and fifteen mile stations. I found the blacks in the large Dugandan scrub.<sup>35</sup>

These Wheeler dispersed on the belief that they were the ones whose tracks he had been pursuing for a fortnight. Wheeler's evidence to the Select Committee suggests that there were some hundred Aborigines involved in this skirmish. Their camps extended for about three miles in the vicinity of the high road to Ipswich, the tribes congregating since before Christmas. Wheeler was adamant that the Telemon tribe was responsible. The Dugandan blacks never went to Compigne's station, Wheeler averred, only the Telemons, and these were the only blacks he dispersed. By this he meant:

firing at them. I gave strict orders not to shoot any gins. It is only sometimes when it is dark that a gin is mistaken for a blackfella, or might be wounded inadvertently.<sup>36</sup>

When asked by the Chairman on what authority he gave orders to fire on the blacks in the Dugandan scrub, Wheeler said, "The letters



I had received from several squatters, complaining that the blacks were robbing their huts, threatening their lives, and spearing their cattle and sheep.’’<sup>37</sup>

Wheeler’s subsequent actions at neighbouring Fassifern station appear to confirm suspicions of excessive zeal even if they do not constitute proof of wanton brutality. In response to a letter from John Hardie advising that “the blacks had been killing cattle at Moograh [sic], and that he could not get them away from the sheep stations’’, Wheeler continued on to Fassifern Station. There, on Christmas Eve, 1860, at least three, possibly four, Aborigines were cruelly slain in the scrub within sight of the Head Station. Both the Coronal Inquiry and subsequent Select Committee of Inquiry shed valuable light on White-Black relationships.

The magisterial inquiry conducted partly in Ipswich during January 1861 by Dr Henry Challinor, JP, ascertained that about midday on 24 December, several shots were fired in the scrub some 300 yards from Fassifern head station, about 20 minutes later, Lieutenant Wheeler, accompanied by six Native Police troopers, appeared from the direction of the scrub. Wheeler dismounted and entered the homestead to speak to Hardie, partner of the Wienholts. Behind them, in the scrub, lay at least three dead Aborigines.<sup>38</sup>

Was it murder, or legitimate dispersal (the callous euphemism of the day), and were those killed Telemons or Ugarapuls? Francis Farrington, a contract carpenter at the head stations, gave evidence that on hearing the shots, some Aborigines at the head station, in great agitation, stated that four old Black men living in the scrub had been gunned down. In response to repeated entreaties, he went to the scene alone to retrieve the Aborigine’s blanket, and again about two hours later, accompanied by Hardie, the overseer, Jones the storeman, a labourer named Kirkwood, and “Shepherd Tommy”. Only three bodies were seen.<sup>39</sup>

Alexander Balbi, landlord of the *Bush Inn* gave evidence:

On Christmas day last several blacks came to my place requesting me to allow them to sleep in my stable because the black Police had been shooting some old blackfellows in the scrub in one of the paddocks belonging to Mr. Hardie. I told them they could camp in the paddock attached to my house and I would protect them there. This was about eleven or twelve o’clock in the forenoon. They continued to sleep in my paddock a few nights and appeared very much frightened of the Native Police pursuing them to that place. I saw the bodies of three blackfellows lying dead in the said scrub when I went there on the third instant. From the appearance the camp presented on that day I should think it could have been suddenly deserted by the blacks — broken spears, shields, articles of clothing lying scattered about. I was desired by the Coroner to go with him and bring my blackfellow named ‘Shepherd Tommy’

as a guide to where the bodies were lying. I had not seen them since they were shot before that day. I recognised two of them. They were very old decrepit men.<sup>40</sup>

Peter MacGregor, under-overseer at Moogerah for Hardie and Wienholt, testified that he had first heard of the deaths four or five days after the event. A Black called “Mr. Cameron” told him the names of two of the slain men, one of whom was a “very old man” whom MacGregor knew well. “He was scarcely able to travel he was so old - his head was very white”, MacGregor attested and added that white men on the head station were saying that “they were tame blacks who had been shot”.<sup>41</sup>

In his evidence on 12 January, John Hardie, joint owner of Fassifern station, swore on oath that he was “not aware personally of anything having occurred on the head station that day”. Lieutenant Wheeler had arrived about midday simply for rations. “He made no remarks about any blackfellows having been shot. I think I told him that there was a blackfellow dead.”<sup>42</sup> Hardie’s brazen contempt for the judicial process contrasted with the evidence of Chief Constable Edward Quinn of the Ipswich Police. He provided Challinor with a sworn statement that Dr. Lucas had declared in his presence that while at Fassifern

I told Mr. hardie that there was a report that some blacks had been shot there, and that Dr. Challinor would be going up to hold an inquest upon them, and Mr. Hardie replied that there would be no inquest there for there had been no blacks shot.<sup>43</sup>

Challinor did not believe Hardie and found on 28 January 1861 that:

the said Aborigines were wilfully and wantonly murdered on the twenty-fourth day of December last by Lieut. Wheeler and the detachment of Native Police on that day under his command; and also that John Hardie, Grazier of Fassifern was cognizant of this fact, yet endeavoured to prevent a judicial enquiry into the cause of the death of the said Aborigines by falsely attesting that no blacks had been shot on that station as had been reported.<sup>44</sup>

The Select Committee of Inquiry into the incident, broadened to include the whole operation of the Native Police Force, recommended that Wheeler “be reprimanded, and removed to another district: were it not that in other respects he is a most valuable and zealous officer, they would feel it their duty to recommend his dismissal.”<sup>45</sup> That was the end of the affair.

Contact with Europeans brought degradation as well as death. A visitor to Blumbergville in 1886 described the pitiful conditions of a camp of Aborigines from the Logan, Coochin and Dugandan districts near the Teviot school, awaiting the arrival of Ipswich Blacks to have a corroboree:

Riding through this camp there was much to touch one's tenderest feelings and to pity these poor wretched creatures. Everywhere were there to be seen evidence of the depravity of the mean whites; and it is really deplorable that some of our fellow-men have sunk to such a degree of baseness.<sup>46</sup>

In 1893 a mission for Aborigines was begun at Deebling Creek near Ipswich by Rev. Peter Robertson of the Ipswich Presbyterian Church to establish a base for surviving Brisbane Valley Aborigines. First managed by a Mr Fuller, then by Robert Morrison, the mission was shifted three miles south to Purga in 1914.<sup>47</sup>

The paternal humanitarian, Meston, had less sympathy for their attachment to their tribal land:

These Boonah blacks profess to be much attached to the locality as their mothers and father were born there . . . Exactly the same reason is given by old blacks at Beaudesert, Beenleigh and Southport, but this is not to be accepted as an argument against collecting them together for their own benefit in some central reserve. It is too late in the day to humour these caprices and sentimentalisms which the total change of environment has deprived of all tangible significance.<sup>48</sup>

His views were incorporated in the *Aboriginals Protection Act* of 1897.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Both "tribe" and "clan" are used to designate a homogeneous grouping of Aborigines living or travelling together. In recent times in Australia, the word "tribe" has acquired pejorative overtones. See J.G. Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways in Southeast Queensland and the Richmond River* (Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 1983) p xvi.
2. Various spelt Yugarapuls, Yuggarapuls, Yugarabuls &c.
3. T.W. Hardcastle, "A Vocabulary of the Yuggarabul Language", *Queensland Geographical Journal* 51 (1946-47), 21-28.
4. J. Lane, "Grammar, vocabulary, notes of the Wangerriburra Tribe", Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for the Year 1913, *Queensland Parliamentary Papers* 1914 V.3. Allen at one time held a £1000 per annum mail contract from the Queensland Government.
5. A. Meston, "Old Moreton Bay Tribes — their lost languages", *Brisbane Courier* 1 December 1923.
6. F.J. Watson, "Vocabularies of Four Representative Tribes of South Eastern Queensland", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Qld.)* XLVIII, No.34 (1946) p4, 9.
7. J.G. Steele, *op.cit* p142.
8. Leichhardt to his mother 27 August 1843 in M. Arousseau (ed.), *The Letters of F.W. Ludwig Leichhardt* (Cambridge University Press, 1968) 2,670-2.
9. T.W. Hardcastle, *op.cit* p21.
10. *ibid.*
11. *ibid.*

12. Alfred William Compigne (1818-1909) arrived in Queensland in 1844, taking up Nindooibah and other runs. He was a parliamentarian and later public servant.
13. Enid Bell, "Aboriginal Language", *Queenslander* 18 January 1931.
14. Hardcastle, "A Vocabulary of the Yugarabul Language", *Queensland Geographical Journal* 51 (1946-47) pp.21-28.
15. E. Ferrar, "The Last Corroboree", *Harrisville and District Historical Society Journal*, September 1973 p26.
16. Journal of Captain Patrick Logan, 12 June 1827, published in *Sydney Gazette* 17 August 1827 and analysed in J.G. Steele, *The Explorers of Moreton Bay District, 1770-1830* (University of Queensland Press, 1972) p211.
17. Hardcastle, *op.cit.* p23. See J.K. Jarrott, "The Road from Ipswich to the Tooloom Diggings", a paper read to the Ipswich Historical Society, a typescript copy of which is held by the Boonah Archives.
18. JUS/N3, Queensland State Archives.
19. Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways* p145; Hardcastle, *Vocabulary*: p23; C. Kubler, "An Aboriginal burial cave at Mt. Edwards", *Queensland Naturalist* 18 (June 1967), p.47.
20. Steele, *op.cit.* pp145-6.
21. *ibid*; *Fassifern Centenary Book* (1944) p124; Thomas Hall, *A Short History of the Downs Blacks, known as the Blucher tribe* (Warwick, 1917) pp.39-40.
22. *Historical Records of Australia (HRA)* 1,XXII,647.
23. Simpson to Colonial Secretary 1 January 1844, *HRA* 1,XXII,448.
24. *ibid.*
25. Simpson's Itinerary, May 1844, took him to the only registered runs: Dulhunty's Plains with 8 residents, Fesofern with 10 and Mount Flinders with 11.
26. *HRA* 1,XXIV,259.
27. *ibid* p.260.
28. *HRA* 1,XXV,2-3.
29. *ibid* p.571.
30. Report of the Select Committee on the Native Police Force, *Queensland Parliamentary Papers* 1861,3,68.
31. *HRA* 1,XXVI,390.
32. JUS/N3, QSA.
33. Simpson's Letter Book, 1842-1852, QSA. Simpson to Colonial Secretary 10 January 1849.
34. Report of the Select Committee p.26.
35. *ibid* p.16.
36. *ibid* p.17.
37. *ibid* p.29-31.
38. JUS/N3, QSA. See *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 3,373-4 for a biography of Henry Challinor.
39. Report of the Select Committee p.66.
40. JUS/N3, QSA.
41. *ibid.*
42. *ibid.*
43. *ibid.*
44. *ibid.*
45. *ibid.*
46. *Queensland Times* 4 September 1886.
47. J.W. Bleakley, *The Aborigines of Australia*, 1961. Purga Mission was handed over to the Chief Protector of Aborigines soon after its move to Purga. In 1921 it was taken over by the Salvation Army, and closed in 1948. The celebrated tenor, Harold Blair (1924-1976) was its most famous resident.
48. Meston's report, 5 January 1897, quoted in W.R. Johnston, *The Call of the Land* (Jacaranda Press, 1982), p.157.